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Vietnam Coup Has Its Price

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 18, 1963

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, a report by Marguerite Higgins entitled, "Vietnam Coup Has Its Price," needs to be read and reread by the largest number of people possible. It is to show the "wrong" to those who condemned the good Premier of Vietnam, Ngo Dinh Diem, that I place this article in the RECORD. Ngo Dinh Diem's murder was a catastrophe not only for the people of Vietnam, but also for the people of the Orient and the entire free world.

Marguerite Higgins needs no acclaim as a first-rate news reporter. She is well known for reporting the truth and the facts. Her article follows:

Vietnam Coup Has Its Price

(By Marguerite Higgins)

SAIGON.—President Johnson has inherited Vietnam's problems at a time when the situation is likely to get worse, in terms of battles and terroristic attacks, before it gets better.

There already has been a setback in the war against the Communist Vietcong since the coup d'état occurred November 1. But this was predictable.

Those Americans who felt that the coup d'état was in the interests of the United States were fully warned that a price would have to be paid for getting rid of President Ngo Dinh Diem and his brother, adviser, Ngo Dinh Nhu.

For example, it is impossible to replace nearly 40 province chiefs who are the backbone of the war effort without creating uncertainty and a hiatus in authority that amounts to an invitation to the Communists to increase their pressure.

MORE TERRORISM

The price paid for the coup d'état included a sharp rise in terroristic bombing attacks in Saigon. President Diem's police and special forces may have been guilty of brutality, but they did manage to reduce terrorism inside Saigon to almost nothing.

In the crucial and rich Mekong River Delta area, there have also been important losses of real estate. On a visit to the 21st Division area near My Tho in August of this year, I was able to drive in a single unarmed jeep through a large strategic hamlet complex of which Maj. Olen O'Connor, the sector adviser, was very proud. The area had been virtually immune to Vietcong harassment for the entire year.

But in revisiting the area this month, Major O'Connor said the entire hamlet had been completely infiltrated by the Vietcong in operations begun November 3, 2 days after the coup d'état.

GAINS TEMPORARY

These gains, hopefully, are temporary and will be reversed when the new military junta has a chance to put its mind back on the war.

Despite the sadness of any setback, the stepped-up tempo of the Viet Cong could be of use if it dispelled the myth that dancing in the streets of Saigon and the popularity of the military junta would work some magic on the war. This is misleading nonsense.

If popularity or democracy really were "the best weapon against communism," Czechoslovakia's Jan Masaryk would not be dead today and Czechoslovakia would not be Communist. Czechoslovakia's democratic

ways could not save it from the Communist coup d'état of 1948.

In talking of popularity in Vietnam, the question must be asked, "Popularity with whom?"

CRITICAL INTELLECTUALS

The military junta's popularity is with the enlightened, educated students, particularly those of Saigon and Hue. But these intellectuals form a small percent of the population in the city which in turn represents less than 10 percent of Vietnam's largely peasant population of 14 million.

Further, the intellectuals of Vietnam always have been undisciplined, driven by factionalism and jealousies and convinced that constant criticism is a mark of intelligence.

In six different trips to Vietnam, this reporter has found students and intellectuals markedly uninterested in fighting or winning the war against the Communist Vietcong—if it means a contribution from them.

Now, many students are hailing the death of Mr. Diem, in contrast to peasants who take a wait-and-see attitude. And none of the students showed any change in their aversion to help the war effort.

COURTS DANGER

In its earnest efforts to be liberal and please the Americans with its democratic image, the military junta has begun to court the same danger of mobocracy that brought on a crisis in such Asian countries as Korea.

Just last week in Hue, 10,000 students demonstrated to demand the firing of teachers who had failed to denounce Mr. Diem vigorously enough to suit them. There have been similar demonstrations in Saigon and the Provinces.

This Asian version of on to the guillotine has been encouraged by the excesses of the Saigon press.

Even the most anti-Diem Vietnamese of them all, the Buddhist leader, Thich Tri Quang, a militant onetime member of the Communist Viet Minh liberation movement, complained about the Saigon press over an interview which quoted him, but which he said he had never given.

The targets of some of the Saigon press smear campaigns include Gen. Paul Harkins, head of the American military mission.

The Saigon press, even at one point, set up a cry for the blood of President Diem's 94-year-old mother.

HANDICAPS GENERALS

Under pressure of this extremism, the military junta has arrested many persons without confronting them with any legal charges and merely on the suspicion of having been "excessively loyal."

These pressures from the mob, and the Vietnam press, are clearly handicapping the generals from getting their minds off the political aftermath of the coup and back on to the war.

Said a British official currently in Vietnam, who was instrumental in winning the anti-Communist guerrilla war in Malaya.

"A certain degree of authoritarianism is necessary to win this type of war. When I see what license and scurrility result from the so-called new freedoms here, I think people—and the press—of Vietnam need discipline for more than the people of Malaya."

The Eternal Flame

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 18, 1963

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, a resident of Minnesota's Second Congressional

District, Mrs. Dana Anderson, was so moved by the events following the assassination of our late President Kennedy that she composed an excellent poem entitled "The Eternal Flame."

I insert Mrs. Anderson's poem, written using her pen name Elsa Romberg, in the RECORD at this point in my remarks:

THE ETERNAL FLAME

Think ye now that my light is out
That assassin hands have dealt a blow?
Think ye that all my lips have formed
Now lie with me in earth below?

Ideals that have their life from God
Die not at all when flesh is spent;
Philosophy the Bible gives
Lives on and to the world is lent.

See now the flame marking my grave,
Its voice is louder far than speech
For from its leaping tongues are heard
The ideals all the world would reach.

"Ask not," it says, "what should be done
For self or nations o'er the sea
But together ask how to attain
The best today—the best to be!"

My light burns on; my flame unspent
Leaps higher to declare my way!
Take from its energy some strength!
My light burns on for you today!

Manpower Development and Training
Act (H.R. 8720)

SPEECH

OF

HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 18, 1963

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 8720) to amend the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Chairman, I want to reassure the Members of this body that the observations of Mr. O'HARA regarding the intent of the program are correct. We recognized from the beginning that existing public and private training efforts should be maintained. In fact, special attention is given to this principle in the act.

Therefore, Mr. O'HARA is correct when he states there are some situations such as the apparel and garment industries where it would not be appropriate to use the manpower development program. In these instances it has been traditional for the employer to provide training on the job and prejob training has never been a precondition of employment. Moreover firms in these industries are highly mobile and compete vigorously with one another in a nationwide market. Training assistance to new firms, for example, in such an industry can have the effect of disrupting competitive relationships and end by forcing other firms to seek similar assistance. If assistance is not extended then unemployment may be created in one area offsetting employment being created elsewhere. And if training assistance is extended then the result can only be a shift in the training function from the industry to the Government. Certainly we want to avoid these possi-

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bilities since either would be contrary to the purposes of the act. This is an important matter and I am delighted that Mr. O'Hara has brought this to our attention. I think he should be complimented for the admirable clarification he has provided.

New Towns in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF**HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 18, 1963

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Wolf Von Eckardt, part VI of his series on "Urban Renewal and the City." This part appeared in the October 26, 1963, edition of the New Republic and recommends the new towns plan developed in the early part of this century by Ebenezer Howard. The new towns idea is something which the Congress should take into serious consideration when urban renewal legislation comes before it.

The article follows:

URBAN RENEWAL AND THE CITY, VI—NEW TOWNS IN AMERICA
(By Wolf von Eckardt)

(This is the last of six articles on urban renewal. During the 3 months he was preparing these reports, Wolf von Eckardt visited Boston, Providence, New Haven, Hartford, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco, and Los Angeles.)

The vivacious Lady Jackson, better known as Barbara Ward, stepped briskly into the center of the ancient theater. In the flickering light of torches held by young Greek peasants, she proclaimed that the failure of our time "to adapt human settlements to dynamic change may soon outstrip even disease and starvation as the gravest risk, short of war, facing the human species."

Then, out of the dark, they stepped forward one by one, 33 "citizens of a worldwide city," distinguished intellectual leaders from a dozen nations. Among them were Charles Abrams, Edmund Bacon, Leonard Duhl, Margaret Mead, and Buckminster Fuller from the United States, S. Giedion (Switzerland), Elichi Isomura (Japan), W. Ostrowski (Poland) and Sir Watson-Watt (Great Britain). Each spoke a few words in his own language and then signed the solemn Declaration of Delos. It was the culmination of a 4-day floating symposium, cruising the Greek islands this summer. Courtesy, Constantinos Doxiadis who thus added dramatics to his "ekistics."

Doxiadis is the fabulous Greek city planner who operates around the globe, building and rebuilding cities from Louisville, Ky., to Peshawar, Pakistan. "Ekistics" is a word he invented based on the same Greek root as "economics" and "ecology." It denotes just exactly the "new discipline of human settlements" the sages of Delos called for. It would combine the research and labors of sociologists, economists, meteorologists and a host of others with that of the planners and architects. The gist of the Delos Declaration is that "the torrential expansion" of the modern city is too serious a matter to be left to city planners alone.

This is true, of course, but not enough. We need, as Walter Gropius has said, search more than research. There is, furthermore, no dearth of constructive concepts which, in this country at least, could use some dramatic torchlight ceremonies to expose them to public discussion and action—government action. For only government is powerful enough to avert "the gravest risk short of war" and safeguard the welfare of the 7 out of 10 Americans who now live in urban areas.

The much-heralded White House Conference, scheduled for this November, was supposed to do just that. But somewhere between the Housing Agency and the White House it vanished without a trace. It is sad and symptomatic of the New Frustration on the New Frontier that our urban philosophers must cruise to Greek Islands to discuss the city, while at home, what with civil rights unrest, growing opposition to urban renewal and other headaches, a national conference seems at the moment too hot to handle.

The most promising not-so-new urban concept that should urgently be molded into a workable government program is what the British call New Towns. The British now have 15 and other countries, notably Canada, are building them, too. New Towns, alias Garden Cities, are comprehensively planned, self-sufficient new communities which offer their residents employment as well as pleasant dormitories in which to raise children.

The idea originated at the turn of the century with the inventive English Court Stenographer Ebenezer Howard. To arrest further crowding of the London slums, he proposed Garden Cities around London's periphery, each surrounded by a green belt which would provide both food and recreational space. But the gardens and the open space were not his only, nor even his central idea. His central idea was the Greek one that any organism or organization has a natural limit. Bees do not build megalopolitan hives. When their hive population reaches 80,000 at most, they breed a new queen and the old one starts a new colony on a site her scouts have found for her. This notion is as valid for people as for bees. Howard's Garden City, with 32,000 people of different vocations, was to provide a variety of enterprises and a thriving social life.

Howard died in 1928, a knighted and beloved leader of an international movement. But he lived to see his proposal realized at Letchworth, constructed in 1903, and at Welwyn, built in 1920, both close to London.

The gravitational pull of the city prevented Letchworth and Welwyn from attracting all the industry and the amenities they need to become as self-sufficient and lively as their planners have hoped. The English New Towns, too, are said to be a bit dull, lacking specialty shops, theaters, and that sort of thing which, of course, no small town, old or new, can sustain. But then the "slurbs, the sloppy, sleazy, slovenly slumshod semicities," as California houses have called our sprawling suburbs, lack urban amenities, too. And they ruin the countryside to boot.

American urbanists, notably Lewis Mumford, Clarence Stein, Catherine Bauer-Wurster, Henry Churchill, Carl Fels, and others, have therefore long advocated Garden Cities or New Towns. The first attempt to build them in this country became part of Franklin D. Roosevelt's economic recovery effort. The resulting three towns (Greenbelt, Md., Greendale, Wis., and Greenhills, Ohio) are still shining examples of intelligent planning. The program was abandoned, however, partly because of now resolved constitutional questions, before these towns could attract sufficient employment so people could stay put.

This, too, was the fate of Clarence Stein's beautiful Radburn, N.J., built in 1929, and

still a model of the ideal suburban community in the motor age. But there are no industries or offices. Like the Levittowns and other suburban developments that followed, Radburn remained a bedroom community, though with better and more congenial community facilities than most.

In this country, the idea has since remained dormant, in part because the new generation of planners became fascinated with the dynamics of Megalopolis, and partly because the Federal Government turned its attention to the limited solution of urban renewal. The younger planning experts, such as Kevin Lynch at MIT insist that Megalopolis can be made livable and efficient with superhighways and bold regional planning, though there is little to show as yet to justify this faith. The Federal Government is hesitant to go beyond what is still billed as a mere slum clearance program.

Very recently, though, the New Town idea has again intrigued private developers with apparently more investment money at hand than they ever had before. Private attempts to build self-sustaining communities have been launched at Beechtree, near Atlanta, Irvine Ranch in California, Columbine near Denver, and Reston near Washington, D.C. The ultimate test of these efforts, of course, is not their 18-hole golf courses and country club atmosphere. It is whether they will actually attract employers and whether their entrepreneurs are willing and financially able to create balanced communities which include poor people with dark skins.

But we cannot rely on the profit motive alone to promote the general welfare. A still more promising development, therefore, is the recent recommendation of Governor Brown's advisory commission on housing problems urging California to adopt the New Towns idea under State sponsorship. The commission, headed by Edward P. Eichler, one of the Nation's most enlightened and successful builders, drew heavily on the advice and experience of such houses as Catherine Bauer-Wurster and Charles Abrams. It considers it a manifest need and mandatory that the State be empowered to acquire land and make it available at low interest for properly planned urban and suburban development. It cites that Alberta, Canada, under its New Town Act of 1956, can declare any area of the Province a New Town and set up a corporation to plan and finance it. After providing the necessary improvements, the land is sold to private industrial, residential and commercial developers who are given Government loans. After development, the town becomes a municipality. Six Alberta New Towns are now underway.

Long before F.D.R.'s Greenbelt Towns, George Washington set the first precedent for governmental land acquisition when he bought the swamps on which Jefferson and L'Enfant planned the National Capital. Its proposal, the Eichler report points out, should not be associated with governmental utopias but rest, rather, "on the realistic need for assembling fragmented land and providing well-placed schools, streets, and utilities in advance of homebuilding rather than after the fact." As Charles Abrams said, "The developers will go where the Government puts the sewers."

Though the American New Towns would never be ideal cities, simply because our fickle ideas change before utopias get built, they could be proper and livable cities rather than slurbs. That means they would have enough land for schools and roads, shops, and homesites, and all the things necessary for proper functioning. Most of all, they would reserve land for growth and green space for recreation, an objective the Federal Government now tries to achieve with disappointing success by contributing 20 percent of the purchase cost of open space cost, with an extra 10 percent bonus if the space is part of a master plan. New Town residents could